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Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY EUR/RPE:THEODORE E RUSSELL
APPROVED BY T.E. RUSSELL
EUR/SE:REWING
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE
EUR:RDVINE
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R 100113Z AUG 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000

S E C R E T STATE 202043

EXDIS BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

FOL RPT NICOSIA 2005 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA
ATHENS BONN LONDON PARIS OTTAWA USUN AUG 8, 1978

QUOTE: S E C R E T NICOSIA 2005

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FIVE-POWER INITIATIVE IN CYPRUS

REF: A) STATE; B) ANKARA 5613

SUMMARY. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PURSUE PROPOSAL FOR USING WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP AS MEANS OF APPLYING ESSENTIAL OUTSIDE PRESSURE ON CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES TO KEEP ALIVE PROSPECTS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS TO RELIEVE U.S. OF PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACHIEVING
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RESOLUTION OF CYPRUS AND AEGEAN PROBLEMS. WE FORESEE POSSIBLE GOC OBJECTIONS TO EXCLUSIVELY NATO COMPOSITION OF GROUP, BUT THESE MAY BE OVERCOME IF GROUP WORKS UNDER UMBRELLA OF UNSYG WALDHEIM AND CONCENTRATES INITIALLY ON SPECIFIC AREAS, SUCH AS VAROSHA-FAMAGUSTA PROPOSALS, WHICH WALDHEIM IS CURRENTLY TRYING TO GET OFF THE GROUND. END SUMMARY.

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1. CONSENSUS OF OPINION AT THIS POST FOR SOME TIME
HAS BEEN THAT PROGRESS TOWARD NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF
CYPRUS PROBLEM COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT ONLY THROUGH
APPLICATION OF OUTSIDE PRESSURES. AMOUNT OF GOOD WILL
ESSENTIAL TO SELF GENERATING AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO COMMUNITIES
SIMPLY DOES NOT EXIST. GREEK CYPRIOTS DEMAND MORE (A UNITARY
STATE WITH MAJORITY RULE AND GUARANTEES OF MINORITY RIGHTS)
THAN THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN ACHIEVE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS,
WHILE TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP IS CONPARATIVELY WELL
SATISFIED WITH WHAT IT HAS ACHIEVED (A DE FACTO GEOGRAPHIC
BASIS FOR THE LONDON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS) AND IS NOT GREATLY
INTERESTED IN ANY CHANGE OTHER THAN TOWARDS A DE JURE
RECOGNITIONOF THE "PRESENT REALITY."

2. GIVEN THIS IMPASSE, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT PROGRESS
TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED ONLY
THROUGH PRESSURE FROM OUTSIDE, PRIMARILY THROUGHT THE
METROPOLE COUNTRIES. IN TURN, FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE AT
LEAST, IT APPEARS THAT THOSE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD BE
WILLING TO EXERT TELLING PRESSURES ON THEIR RESPECTIVE
COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS ONLY IF PUSHED BY OTHER OUTSIDE
SOURCES. THE WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP MIGHT BE ABLE
TO PROVIDE THE IMPETUS. A WELCOME BY-PRODUCT OF CREATION
OF A CONTACT GROUP MIGHT BE SOME DEFLECTION OF IDEAS, WHICH
IS BEING CULTIVATED IN GOC CIRCLES, THAT U.S. HAS ASSUMED
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GRAVE UNILATERAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR SOLUTION OF
CYPRUS PROBLEM IN WAKE OF LIFTING OF EMBARGO. CONTACT
GROUP COULD DIFFUSE THIS PERCEIVED RESPONSIBILITY AND
PERMIT U.S. TO DETACH PURSUIT OF ITS GREATER INTERESTS
IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN FROM OBESSION WITH CYPRUS
PROBLEM.

3. WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP PRESUMABLY WOULD BE
ACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY AND, PERHAPS TO LESSER EXTENT, GREECE
BECAUSE OF NATO/EEC CONNECTION. FOR SAME REASON, HOWEVER,
NATO ORIENTED GROUP WOULD, WE BELIEVE, BE OBJECTIONABLE TO
GOC. CURRENT HARDENING GOC LINE IS THAT RESOLUTION OF
CYPRUS PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION
OF UN RESOLUTIONS AND MUST PRESERVE CYPRUS' NONALIGNED
STATUS. CYPRUS' FRIENDS IN THIRD WORLD, AS WELL AS
SIGNIFICANT DOMESTIC POLITICAL FORCES, WOULD REJECT ANY SOL-
UTION WHICH COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS "NATOIST." FURTHER-
MORE, IT IS WELL ESTABLISHED GOC POLICY, BASED ON MAKARIOS
LINE, THAT ANY MEDIATORY ROLE MUST BE UNDER AEGIS OF SECRETARY
GENERAL AND BASED ON UN RESOLUTIONS. (WE REALIZE THAT GOC
CONCURRENCE MIGHT NOT BE SOUGHT PRIOR TO SETTING UP CONTACT
GROUP, BUT POINT OUT THESE FACTS IN VIEW OF LIKELY NEGATIVE

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IMPACT GOC REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WOULD HAVE ON ATTITUDES OF
GREEK GOVERNMENT AND UN SECRETARY GENERAL TOWARD WORKING WITH
CONTACT GROUP.) IN THIS REGARD, KYPRIANOU'S SUGGESTION
FOR FRENCH-CHAIRED COMMITTEE OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS,
FROM LITTLE HE HAS SAID ON SUBJECT, APPEARS TO ENVISION
A COMMITTEE OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF S.C., WITH FRANCE
PROVIDING ONLY BIG-POWER INPUT. WE BELIEVE THIS IS
ADDITIONAL CONFIRMATION THAT KYPRIANOU WULD FAVOR NON-
ALIGNED PARTICIPATION IN CONTACT GROUP.

4. TO SOFTEN GOC OBJECTIONS TO NATO-ORIENTED CONTACT GROUP
AND TO DENY KYPRIANOU OPPORTUNITY OF PUBLICLY REFUSING TO
COOPERATE WITH GROUP ON GROUNDS THAT IT IS WORKING OUTSIDE
UN FRAMEWORK, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT THAT GROUP
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OBTAIN EARLY ON AT LEAST TACIT PUBLIC APPROVAL FROM WALDHEIM
OF ITS EFFORTS AND CONCENTRATE ON INITIATIVES CURRENTLY
BEING PURSUED BY SECRETARY GENERAL. KYPRIANOU IS ON PUBLIC
RECORD AS WELCOMING INITIATIVES FROM ANY SOURCE AS LONG
AS THEY ARE UNDER AEGIS OF SECRETARY GENERAL AND BASED
ON UN RESOLUTIONS. SPECIFICALLY, WE SUGGEST CONTACT GROUP
CONCENTRATE ON REINFORCING SYG'S EFFORTS WITH CYPRIOT
COMMUNITIES TO:

-- CAPITALIZE ON VAROSHA-FAMAGUSTA PROPOSALS AS MEANS
OF RESTORING MOMENTUM TO NEGOTIATING PROCESS;

-- EXPLORE REOPENING OF NICOSIA AIRPORT;

-- TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING
MISSING PERSONS COMMITTEE; AND

-- REVITALIZE 1977 DENKTASH-MAKARIOS AGREEMENT.

5. ABOVE AREAS APPEAR TO US TO OFFER BEST OPPORTUNITIES
FOR EARLY USEFUL INITIATIVES BY CONTACT GROUP IN THAT
THEY ARE RELATIVELY MODEST, EACH HAS AT LEAST GRUDGING
APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE OF TWO COMMUNITIES, AND EACH CAN
COMMAND SUPPORT OF SYG. WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST
CONTACT GROUP'S MOVING TOO FAR TOO SOON BY GETTING INTO
FAR-REACHING CONSTITUTIONAL AND TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS
WHICH MIGHT INVITED IMMEDIATE REJECTION BY EITHER SIDE
AND DAMAGE GROUP'S BONA FIDES AT THE OUTSET.
UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, POLICIES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, SUMMIT MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE202043
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: THEODORE E RUSSELL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780327-0005
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780877/aaaacmrp.tel
Line Count: 165
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7ac45b65-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 STATE 197, 78 ANKARA 5613
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 jul 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1777476
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POSSIBLE FIVE-POWER INITIATIVE IN CYPRUS
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY, UK, US, FR, GE, CA
To: BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7ac45b65-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014